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GINĀNS

TEXTS AND CONTEXTS

Essays on Ismaili Hymns from South Asia
in Honour of Zawahir Moir

Revised Edition

Edited by
Tazim R. Kassam
Françoise Mallison



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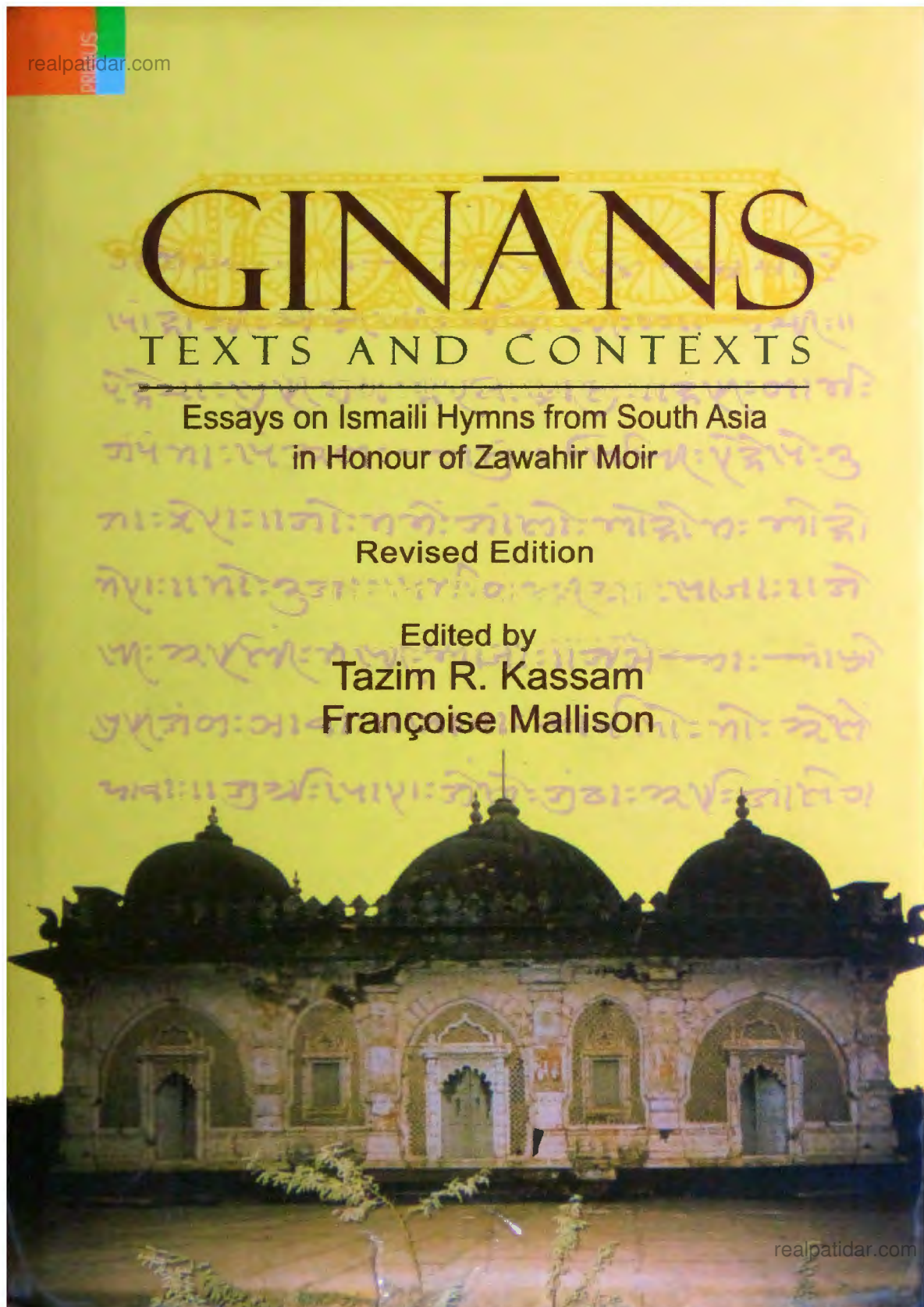
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Another point regards the so-called 'syncretistic' or 'composite' nature of the South Asian Nizari sacred literature, as preserved in written and oral forms among Khojas and Imamshahis. This has been, and is still, the object of much heated debate among scholars as well as among ordinary members of these communities: was the introduction of non-Islamic elements a deliberate 'strategy' of conversion, a concession made to the converts or simply a poetic—and spontaneous—creation of the popular mind?⁵ An interesting point noted by Asani⁶ is that during the British period the specificity of the Gināns, as a distinct genre of sacred literature, served to determine the Muslim Shia Ismaili origin of the Khojas. Esmail argues that the perception of the Ginānic tradition as a literature integrating non-Islamic elements is an artificial construction of the mind: 'it is only ideological self-consciousness which sifts among the elements, distinguishing "Hindu" from "Muslim," and seeks to suppress, minimize, or to explain away some of them in an apologetic vein.'⁷

A few specialists have tackled the issue of the re-evaluation of Khoja religious identity starting towards the end of the nineteenth century⁸ and the rapprochement with mainstream Islamic traditions. These phenomena, which have resulted in a partial transformation of the Ginānic corpus, have been diversely evaluated, some approving, others rejecting the recent changes proposed by the Nizari Ismaili spiritual leadership. It is interesting to note that the response seems to depend very much on the cultural and religious context of the country where the Nizaris live. While the so-called 'Islamization' of the tradition is felt as a requirement of our times by most Pakistani, especially Sindhi Nizaris (Khojas proper), the Punjabi community (represented by the Shamsis) has a somewhat different perception, whereas the conservative attitude of the groups who have migrated to the Western countries is certainly motivated by a different type of anxiety.⁹

The Ginānic Tradition of the Imamshahis

The case of the Imamshahis has been much less studied and is often misconstrued.¹⁰ The issue is a particularly complex one, owing to the fact that the community has a long history of fragmentation, which continues till today, since there is no single spiritual authority, that is to say no Imām or representative of the Imām, unanimously recognized by the followers. Nonetheless, one should not ignore the importance of the Ginānic heritage among the Satpanthis—as they are still referred to. Mukhi Lalji Devraj himself admitted that point when he went to Pirana in search of Ginān manuscripts.¹¹

No evaluation of the Imamshahi literature is possible without an extensive study of their history and oral tradition.¹² The period that concerns us in this paper starts towards the end of the nineteenth century.



The publishing activities of the Satpanthis started, it seems, shortly after Independence: in 1954, one Sayyid published the *Satpanth śāstra*—a three hundred page book that contained, besides an interesting introduction, the text of the Satpanthi *Das avatār* and of the regular Imamshahi *duā*.¹³ Another Sayyid, Ahmed Ali Khaki, claiming to be the direct heir of Imam Shah and regarded by some of his followers as the main spiritual authority, published and edited, apart from his own original writings, most of the Satpanthi sacred literature. After his demise, the tradition was continued by his son, Shamsuddin Bava. In 1978, *Śrī Satpanth Prakāś* was published in Ahmedabad, with a subtitle indicating that it was reproducing the ritual text of the *Das avatār*. It had only a short introduction but included some interesting pictures among which the editor himself and his father, the prominent Jalalshahi Sayyid leader, Ahmed Ali Khaki were seen sitting in front of the four Vedas. The *duā* was reprinted separately by the same editor in 1982 from the older edition established by his father in 1937 under the title *Satpanthī yagya vidhi (pūjā no mantra)*.¹⁴ Apart from a lengthy introduction, it included numerous explanatory footnotes that often sought to 'translate' the meaning of the original Islamic elements into a more Indic idiom.

The Satpanthi Athias who had severed their links with the "main branch", as it is often referred to, had established a separate shrine at Pirana and also printed a few books, among which the most interesting may be the undated booklet entitled *Harivams* (which dealt with the genealogy of the Imāms in connection with the *Das avatār*) and the *Duā gyān*.

As Ivanow had already alluded to,¹⁵ a group of ex-Hindu converts, particularly among the Patidars (then referred to as Kanbis), were gradually influenced by Hindu revivalist ideology, mainly by the Arya Samaj and the Sanatan Dharma movements. In our more recent studies¹⁶ we have shown that the activities of the contemporary right-wing Hindu movements have triggered a complex crisis of identity among the Satpanthi Patidars. This crisis resulted in an ambitious reform movement initiated by the Kaka of Pirana, Karsan Das.¹⁷ This 'reform' affected mainly the sacred literature, as its Islamic elements appeared unacceptable to many followers. For instance, in 1990 during a meeting of the sect which took place in the Sabarkantha district of Gujarat, the new version of the prayer established by the Kaka was approved: it bore the title *Atharvavedīya Satpantha Yagyavidhi (pūjānā mantra)* and was printed both in Gujarati and Hindi.

Before analysing the revised versions of the Gināns, we will have to examine the changes that were decided among the Nizari 'mainstream' communities by the World Ismailia Associations in 1975,¹⁸ insofar as the latter reforms can be perceived as the exact counterpart of the Satpanthi Patidar 'venture'.



During the conference that was held in Paris and chaired by H.H. the prince Karim Aga Khan IV, a resolution was passed regarding the classification of the Gināns into three categories: the first one that was unproblematic referred to the texts that did not contain 'Hindu elements' and were to continue to be recited as such in the *jamātkhānas*. The second category comprised the hymns that included a few Hindu terms. It was decided to replace these words by their Islamic equivalents: in this way 'Hari' became 'Ali', 'Gur', 'Pīr', etc. As for the third category, which had 'excessive Hindu elements' such as the famous *Das avatār*, they were simply banned.¹⁹ The review of the Gināns, along these lines at various workshops, was a painstaking and complex process that, for obvious reasons, has not yet been completed. Besides it triggered a long controversy: which elements were to be considered 'non-Islamic'?²⁰ We will keep these facts in mind while examining the parallel—but also reverse—process started by the present head of the Imamshahi converted community, the *gaddīvālā* Kaka Karsan Das.

Sifting Out the Cinders

A first point deserves to be mentioned here. Ironically, the *Das avatār* Ginān which was no more acceptable to the mainstream Nizaris because of its extensive description of the ten descents of Vishnu, regarded as a 'basically' Hindu belief, was also rejected by the reforming Satpanthi Patidars on the ground that the last two avatars were openly equated with the Persian Imām.

We will first give a few examples of the 'corrections' that were made by examining a few selected verses drawn from two different versions of the same Ginān entitled *Man Cittavarani*. The earlier version will be marked 'B' and the revised one 'C'. Comparison will occasionally be made with the Khoja canon, that is to say with the version established by Mukhi Lalji Devraj, which will be marked 'A'.

Verse 64

A: *te sāh pīr nū nām picchāno husainī āl māhe*

Recognize the name of the Imām (Shah) and Pīr who belongs to the family of Husain

B: *e gor nī picchān husainī āl mā*

Recognize the Guru who belongs to the lineage of Husain

C: *e gor nī picchān hari nā vaṃś mā*

Recognize the Guru in the lineage of Hari



Verse 66

A: *āne molā alī śū man lāhe ... to tame hājar alī śāh re*

Concentrate your mind on the Master Ali ... then Imām Ali will be with you

B: *gor nar śū chitta lāere ... to nar mahmad śāh hājar āere*

Meditate on the Supreme Guru and Master ... then Nar Mohammed Shah will be with you

C: *gor nar śū chitta lāere ... to nar nārāyaṇ saṁmukh hoy re*

Meditate on the Supreme Guru and Master ... then Narayan (Vishnu) will appear in front of you

Verse 285

B: *rozā nimāz nitya kare tise musulmān mat kaho....*

Don't call Muslims those who (do nothing but) perform the regular prayers and the annual Ramadan fast....

C : *mandire darśan nitya kare tise harijan mat kaho....*

Don't call Hari's (Vishnu's) devotees those who (do nothing but) go regularly to the temple

Verse 277

B: *mullāh masite....*

The mullah in the mosque....

C : *gafal mandir maī....*

The heedless one in the temple....

Verse 325

B : *... Sadruddīn ...*

Pir Sadruddin (the famous fifteenth century Ismaili missonary)

C : *... Sahadev ...*

Sahadev (a character from the *Mahābhārata* or a Hindu saint named Sahadev Joshi. It was also the Hindu name assumed by Pīr Sadruddin)

Let us first note the elements which distinguish the Khoja version of Devraj from the Imamshahi text established by Khaki.

For instance, 'Shāh Pīr' and 'Molā Alī' are replaced by the Indic titles 'Gor' and 'Gor Nar' that were in any case already used in the Khoja literature, but this enabled the Patidar reformers to keep this title unchanged, whereas



the expression 'in the family of Husain' was no longer acceptable and thus replaced by 'Hari's lineage'. In verse 66, a triple transformation can be noticed: from Ali Shah to Nar Muhammad Shah then replaced by Nar Narayan; while the reference to Muhammad Shah simply points to the shift of emphasis (from the Imām recognized by the 'mainstream' Nizaris to the Imamshahi supreme spiritual authority of the time), without changing the basically Islamic Ismaili character of that authority, the reformed Satpanthi version 'Hinduizes' his name. However, it must be stressed that, in doing so it is not really innovating, since Hari (Vishnu) was a name often used as an Indic equivalent for the Lord and Imām. There lies, no doubt, the most remarkable peculiarity of this type of change. Worth mentioning also are the *mandir/masjid* and *Sadrudin/ Sahadev* alternatives now perceived as dichotomies—although the same words had often been used in a tandem in the Ginānic literature. Rather amusing, to conclude this part, is the criticism leveled in the above mentioned verses by the Nizari Ismailis at the hypocritical, 'externalist' Muslims (here of course the Sunnis) replaced by an attack on the ritualist Hindus. However, it will be interesting to add that the character of the hypocritical mullah or Muslim priest is not replaced, in the Hinduized version, by his Hindu equivalent, a Pandit, but by the more general term *gafal* (the heedless one).

Let us now examine some changes that have been made in the ritual prayer (*duā*) of the Imamshahis by comparing Khaki's *Yagya vidhi* with its reformed version, bearing the same title, established by the new *gaddivālā* Kaka.

The *mantra* number 7 of Khaki's version (corresponding to the *mantra* 3 of Karsan) starts with the formula:

B: *Om farmānjī bismillāh hirahmā nirahīm*

(The Hindu sacred syllable OM is followed by the parallel Muslim invocation 'in the name of Allah, the Beneficient, the Merciful')

Interestingly, the editor gives the following explanation in a footnote:

Paramātmā nī āgyā thī ādharū chū dayālu paramātmānā nām thī je sadā kripālu che....

which can be translated as follows:

In the name of the Supreme Lord! I begin in the name of the Lord (using the Hindu word *paramātmā*) who is always merciful

Imam Shah and the Pīrs preceding him are mentioned, while Muhammad Shah is also referred to as Nar Ali and Adi Vishnu.



In C (Hindi version) the *bismillāh* formula has been dropped and the *duā* starts with:

C: *paramātmā kripālu āgyāse....*
By the merciful order of God....

The list of Imāms and Pīrs is then replaced by:

C: *pratham ādh niraṃjan dhūndhkār sriṣṭi kā gor nar dharan kiyā avatār....*
First there was only the primeval immaculate God in the darkness, the master and lord of the Creation (*gor nar*) became manifested (litteraly: ‘took avatar’)

Verse 11 of the *mantra* classified as ‘7’ is as follows:

B : *ālok parlok devlok jumlī jamāt....*
In this world, in the netherworld, in the Divine world, the congregation of the faithful

C: *ālok parlok devlok gor gat gaṃgā*
Same as above then: the holy stream (Ganges) of the congregation.²¹

Verse 13 of the same *mantra*:

B : *Alī niraṃjan niṣkalaṃkī pātra....*
Ali, the spotless and immaculate Person....

sadgor suderdīn
(and) the true Guru Sadruddin

satgor nar imāmsā....
the true guru Imamshah....

didār diyā karorī bār nabī muhammad šams pīr....
(and) he (the Imām) granted his holy vision (*didār*) to the one who is like Prophet Muhammad, Pīr Shams (a famous Ismaili missionary) innumerable times....

C: *niraṃjan niṣkalaṃkī nārāyaṇ....*
The spotless immaculate Vishnu (Narayan)....

patra brahma indra imāmsāhne....
the one who is like Brahma and Indra, Imamshah....

darśan diyā bār karor śivloka udhār kiyā....
he granted his holy vision (*darśan*) and salvation in Shiva’s paradise....

Mantra 8 in B (which is 4 in C) has in verse 2 Śāh nā thām ... (the abode of the Shah) which becomes in C: Hari ke dhām (the abode of Hari or Vishnu).



Mantra 11 of B (7 in C) has *kalmo* (the Kalimah) ... where C has *gurumantra* (the guru's mantra). At various other places the word *kalmo* is replaced by *mantra* or *śabda* (Divine word, verb).

Mantra 12 of B (8 of C) which refers to the *ghaṭ* has, in verse 26:

B : *arabī rūpe kalaś māhe kalā dharo....*

In your Arabic form manifest your divine power in the sacred vessel....

C : *hamāre ghaṭ mē hai prabhu āp vās karo....*

In our sacred vessel dwell, O Lord (*prabhu*)....

A last remark will be made concerning the genealogy of the Imāms which is a central theme in the Nizari Ismaili prayer. Khaki's version mentions the fact that the avatars are followed by Ali and the Imāms who succeed him, but the author mixes them with some figures who are considered as Pīrs or Sayyids in the 'mainstream' tradition. For instance, after Pīr Kabiruddin, the line of Imāms passes onto the family of Imam Shah.

Karsan's text lists the ten avatars and after Buddha says: *harivaṃś āj tak kaliyug mē gupta rūp se chalā ā rahā hai, vohī harivaṃś mē kaliyug ke ant mē dharma ke sthāpnā ke liye ādh śrī viṣṇu bhagavān jo antim dasvā avatār pragat hogā vo ādh viṣṇu niraṃjan niṣkalaṃkī nārāyaṇ....*

'In the Kali Yuga, the lineage of Hari (Vishnu) has existed secretly till now. In the same lineage of Hari, at the end of the Kali Yuga (the last of the four Hindu cosmic ages), the tenth and last avatar of Vishnu who will manifest himself to establish the (true) religion, is none other than the Supreme immaculate and spotless Nishkalanki Narayan.'

To conclude this part, I will make a few remarks on the 'technique' that has been adopted by the reforming authorities among the Satpanthi Patidars. I was lucky enough to meet one of the writers entrusted with the task of 'rewriting' the Gināns. This elderly devotee, who resided in a small village in Kutch, had a profound knowledge of the earlier tradition and kept at home, in a locked cupboard, a big collection of books. Among them were the publications edited by Khaki and later banned by Karsan Das, the 'Hindu' leader of Pirana. Our informant had already prepared and edited the new version of the *Cittavaraṇī* I have examined here: the brand new booklet recently released at Pirana was lying on his desk with a few other reformed versions of the sacred literature. After much cajoling, he accepted to part with a good number of his 'old books' (as he himself called them). While I was reading one of them, the important *Satpanth Sāstra* (published in 1954 and containing the *Das avatār* and the *duā*), I realized that he had started to work on it by writing the 'correct' words with a blue pen above the 'original', now banned, version and inscribing some remarks on the margins. This



was, undoubtedly, the preliminary phase of a work that had been interrupted. I noted the following changes: *kudartī dharma* was replaced by *mahā dharma*, *khudā* by *prabhu*, *kabra* by *samādhi*, *vāfat pāmiyā* by *samādhi lidhī*, *sahibji* by *paramātmā* and so on.²²

The Meaning of Reforms

Esmail's remark about the 'ideological self-consciousness which sifts among the elements distinguishing "Hindu" from "Muslim"...' ²³ is certainly relevant in this context. However, an essential—albeit obvious—remark must be made at this juncture: in replacing certain terms along new ideological lines, Khojas and Imamshahis were rarely innovating. Both proceeded rather by elimination, and it is noteworthy that it was not difficult for them to find so called 'Islamic' or 'Hindu' equivalents for the new versions of the Gināns—wherever changes were felt necessary, since the Ginānic tradition itself had long ago proposed an elaborate list of those quasi-synonyms.

As Rattansi has rightly noted, the perception of the changes that were made in certain Khoja Gināns (such as replacing 'Naklanki', 'Nar', 'Svami' by 'Ali', 'Nur', 'Mavla', etc.) was different according to the context. For example, the officials of the Ismailia Association were referring to the concept of the Imamate as 'Guidance according to the changed times', also following Aga Khan III's advice in this matter. Others, however, thought that the supposedly 'Hindu' elements were symbolical expressions of the same reality. There was no need to suppress these elements, and such changes could even be harmful, limiting the authority of the Imām and devaluing the Ginānic spiritual traditions.²⁴

Let us now examine the reactions among the Imamshahis. It is true that the reform movement concerned mainly the Patidars followers who were strongly influenced by their non-Satpanthi caste fellows and had shifted their political allegiance to the Hindu right wing. However, this wave was the more so powerful as the Patidars represent about 75 per cent of the Imamshahis.

Actually, the opponents were mainly the Imamshahi Sayyids supported by a few Patidars who were either the rivals of the present Kaka and had competed with him for the *gaddī* of Pirana or simply posed as the defenders of 'tradition'. Other Muslim worshippers of Imam Shah, such as the Nurshahi Momins, were indifferent. These *Guptis* (believers in hiding), originating from low caste communities, had been recently converted to Ithna Ashari Shia Islam and abandoned altogether their former rituals and sacred literature. Their allegiance was limited to their *murśid* whose *dargāh* they occasionally visited. On the other hand, these reforms were also rejected by the Imamshahi Athias—second in importance after the so-called 'main

Which means
Satpanthis were
acting under the
pressure of KKP
Sanatan Samaj



Karsan
Kaka was
NOT
reformist,
but he
stopped
Satpanthis
from
becoming
Hindus

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branch'. They had kept a strong Shia background owing to the fact that their Sayyids, belonging the Sayyidkhani branches, had outwardly identified themselves with the Twelvers. Their Kakas had been preserving the Gupti tradition, resorting to an extensive *taqiyya* rather than tampering with their traditions or facing directly the threat of the Hindutva ideologists. During recent court cases in the nineties that reflected the disputes among the Imamshahis they eventually came in support of the rebelling Sayyids and Patidars. As Karsan's reformed Ginānic literature was gaining ground among the Gupti communities, these Sayyids resolved to publish a whole counter-literature. In doing so they sought to protect their sect, while preserving the former versions of the Imamshahi sacred literature. For instance, in 1994, along with other texts, documents and commentaries, they published the former version of the *duā* in the first volume of their series characteristically entitled *Pāṃcam Ved*²⁵. In reproducing the *bismillāh* formula and the list of Imāms-Pirs they stressed the essentially 'syncretic' nature of their tradition, while acknowledging their historical link with the Nizaris, a rare occurrence in Imamshahi tradition. Interestingly, as a testimony of this common origin, they reproduced entire passages of the British gazetteers as well as Ivanow's famous article in English on the Imamshahis.²⁶

A few remarks should be also made about a prominent Satpanthi devotee, Ravji Kanji Patel (often using as his nom-de-plume *Anāmī Antarātmā* or the 'anonymous inner soul'), who had once played an important part in the publishing activities of Khaki's son whose faithful disciple he was. When the latter was forced to go into concealment, secretly supporting the new *gaddipati* of Pirana, Ravji, who portrays himself as a genuine Satpanthi, but also as a Gandhian and a Theosophist, started to pose as the defender of the 'original' Imamshahi tradition. In a few booklets published by him in the late nineties he openly questioned the validity and authenticity of Kaka Karsan's revised Gināns which he referred to as *bhāṣākyā sudhārā vadhārā* (linguistic corrections and improvements).²⁷ He accuses the present Kaka to spread the 'poison of communalism' by allying himself with right wing Hindutva organizations. He insists that history should not be distorted: the Imamshahi tradition is not a purely Hindu sect. Although it can be rightly called '*Satpanth Sanatan Dharma*', it must openly acknowledge its Islamic elements and the *rauza* of Pirana is a sacred space for both Hindus and Muslims. For Ravji the essential message of the Satpanth is the unity of religions.

The future of the debate over the reform of the Gināns and of some religious practices is difficult to predict since at present, the 'reforming' Patidars represent the majority within the Satpanth. The earlier literature, mainly edited by Khaki and his son being 'officially' banned, at present the only books available at the Pirana bookshop are the revised ones. The

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religion



Sayyids' counter-literature is obviously not so popular with the ex-Guptis who now wish to pose as full-fledged Hindus, claiming that their elder have been misled by some Sayyids into adopting certain Muslim customs and introducing Islamic elements into an originally pure Vedic Hindu literature and tradition. This idea initially inspired by the Arya Samaj has been readily adopted by the exponents of Hindutva, insofar as it helps them explaining away the now undesirable elements.

The main danger lies of course in the fact that the younger generations who learn only the new version of the Gināns and rituals, as I observed during field research, do not have any knowledge of the earlier tradition. In this way it is a whole literary and religious heritage that threatens to disappear. It can be said that in many respects, the young Patidars, who are sincerely ignorant of their past, do resemble the modern Khojas who have been taught only the 'Islamized' versions of the Gināns.

History as a Hiding Place

The issue that has been tackled here is closely linked to the historical process which gradually led to the construction of a 'monochrome' world replacing the rich diversity of Hindu-Muslim interface.²⁸ On the other hand, the transformation of the Ginānic tradition among the Khoja and Imamshahi communities can help us to understand similar phenomena that have either been ignored or misconstrued by scholars: I am alluding here to the many religious traditions that are now portraying themselves as Hindu, but have obviously Islamic and in particular Ismaili roots.²⁹ By studying in detail the sacred literature of these sects one can understand how their gradual re-Hinduization was made possible, and even, quite smooth and easy, thanks to their original liminal character. For instance, the Nizari Satpanthi references to the ten avatars or mythological figures such as the Paṇḍāvas, Draupadī, etc., could not only be preserved—while Islamic elements were slowly erased or replaced—but brought forward as a strong evidence of the purely Hindu origin of those sects. However, even after substantial changes have been made, the sacred hymns of the Barmatis, for instance, are still referred to as Gināns albeit the present followers of the sect tend to deny any connection with the Nizaris.³⁰

Similarly, one can see the evolution from some former bhajans including Islamic references to the present devotional songs of the Ramdev Nizarpanthi followers. The sacred compositions of the Bishnois, Jasnathis, Aipanthis, Lalbegis and others should be examined in the same light. Comparing them to the changing Ginānic tradition of the Imamshahis would certainly lead to a better understanding of this phenomenon.



Last but not least, the case of the Pranami sacred literature, almost entirely subsumed in their sacred book referred to as *Kulzam Śarīf* or *Kulzam Svarūp*—and now in some revised editions as *Tārtam Sāgar*, should be briefly examined.³¹ Interestingly, very few changes or interpolations occurred in the texts, at the very time when the **sect was rapidly re-Hinduizing itself**. The relatively minor transformations concerned the title of the book, for instance, and the replacement of the word ‘Sahebji’ by ‘Shri Krishna’ in the introductory *mantra*. Therefore, the question that arises is the following: how has it been possible for the Pranamis to pose as full-fledge Hindus and, in some cases, as fervent exponents of Hindutva, while refraining from tampering with their scripture which is replete with Islamic references, to a much greater extent than the Gināns? The answer is a complex one. First, one must take into account the secrecy which continue to surround these texts, while numerous books and articles interpreting them in terms of the ‘Hindu idiom’ are openly published and generously distributed. Second, the original scripture, in its modern printed versions, also does commentary on each verse in the same spirit. Besides, the refined esoteric philosophy exposed in the hymns (appearing at first sight to be purely written in the Sant or Sufi style) functions as a protection against the attempts of ‘coarse’ reformers who would be ready to tamper with these complex elements. When suspected, the Pranamis generally remind that their gurus and founders, although born and dead as Hindus, purposely included Sufi elements in the literature to promote communal harmony and to create a kind of universal religion.] Eventually, a close examination of the Pranami tradition will show that if the literature has been spared, some other elements, such as the exterior shape and decoration of their shrines have been tampered with largely. However, in all these cases, it may be argued that the elders, as I observed during field research, are perfectly aware of what is happening and, at least initially, agreed to make some changes in order to avoid persecution.³²

To conclude, it may be suggested that the **problem of the ‘revised’ Gināns among both Khojas and Satpanthis, or of similar sacred texts, should also be examined in the context of religious dissimulation or taqiyya**. Such processes of revision cannot be separated from the broader issue connected with liminal religious traditions that is itself linked to contemporary legal and judiciary systems prevalent in India and Pakistan.

Notes

1. Christopher Shackle and Zawahir Moir, *Ismaili Hymns from South Asia: An Introduction to the Ginans*, SOAS, South Asia Texts, no. 3, London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1992; rpt, Richmond: Curzon Press, 2000, pp. 14-17, and Ali Asani, *Ecstasy and Enlightenment: The*